

Y.A. QUADRI

ISLAM AND THE MODERN AGE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

Vol. XVI No.2 May 1985

**ZAKIR HUSAIN INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA
JAMIA NAGAR, NEW DELHI**

ISLAM AND THE MODERN AGE
Vol. XVI No.2 May 1985

CONTENTS

The Concept of Holiness in Islam	61-84
<i>Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi</i>	
A Christian Critique of Islamic Holiness	85-108
<i>Fr. Jean-Marie Gaudoul</i>	
Ibrahim Niass (1902-75) – The Tijaniyyah Shaykh	109-120
<i>Y.A. Quadri</i>	
The West African ‘Ulama’ and Islamic Movements	121-125
<i>Clyde Ahmad Winters</i>	

Y.A. QUADRI

IBRAHIM NIASS (1902 - 75) — THE TIJANIYYAH SHAYKH

The Tijaniyyah, a mystical Order in Islam, was founded in 1781 A.D. by Shyakh Ahmad al-Tijani (d. 1815 A.D.) in the Maghrib (Morocco). The Order has since spread to different countries. Nigeria is one of such places where the Order has been well known today among the Muslims. A number of foreign leaders of the Tijaniyyah had visited Nigeria on different occasions. Such people included al-hajj 'Umar al-Futi (d. 1864 A.D.), who came in the 1830's, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhab Ujdud who came from Mauritania and died in Katsina (Nigeria) around 1920, and Sharif Muhammad 'Alami who arrived in Kano around 1923. Their activities, however, were restricted to the northern parts of the country. Shyakh Ibrahim Niass (d. 1975), on the other hand, has been known as the leader of the Tijaniyyah who had numerous followers throughout the country. It is our intention in this article to attempt an examination of how the Shaykh emerged as a nationally accepted Tijaniyyah leader in Nigeria. In doing this, it is pertinent to briefly consider the historical background of the Shaykh. That will enable us to know him.

Ibrahim was born in 1902 to a renowned Islamic scholar of Senegal, al-hajj 'Abdullah Niass (1845-1922) at Tabya, a village near Kaolack, Senegal. His mother was 'A'ishah bint Ibrahim. Al-hajj 'Abdullah finally settled in Kaolack in 1910 after he had lived in several villages.¹ Young Ibrahim grew up in a religious environment and healthy surroundings of learning and scholarship. This was because his father being a great scholar of Arabic and Islamic Studies and a pious Muslim. He was known throughout Senegal as a Zealous reviver of the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him). Ibrahim learnt the Qur'an under his father and memorised it. He also studied various branches of Islamic knowledge under him.

Ibrahim Niass was initiated into the Tijaniyyah Order by his father who had been initiated by Shaykh Mamadu (Muhammad) Diallo of Futa Jallon in 1875; however, he renewed his initiation with Shyakh Sukayraj of Fez. Al-hajj 'Abdullah was a major *muqaddam* (a group leader within the Tijaniyyah Order) during his time in Senegal and he was the *Shaykh* of the *zawiyah* (spiritual centre) of the Tijaniyyah

in Kaolack. Young Ibrahim was trained in sufism under his father till he reached a high position. His spiritual journey did not stop after the death of his father, and he continued his struggle on his own and achieved a higher position during the course of his spiritual development.²

Ibrahim started teaching Arabic and Islamic subjects from the age of twenty and combined preaching with this. He used his father's *zawiyah* as a centre for this purpose until the place could no longer accommodate his students and *murids* (spiritual disciples), and he had to move to the outskirts of the town which he called al-madinah al-jadidah (the new city). In 1930 he began to build a *zawiyah* which could accommodate about ten thousand people.³ This *zawiyah* has since been serving many purposes. For example, it is used, in addition to its primary function as a spiritual centre, for imparting Islamic education. Thousands of people both black and white, are said to have studied various subjects in its mosque, while they are also said to have attained perfect knowledge of God through the Shaykh in this centre.⁴ The role which this *zawiyah* played in teaching students from various countries has not only made the *zawiyah* popular but contributed to spreading the fame of the Shaykh outside Senegal. Thus, Shaykh Ibrahim emerged in Senegal as a *sufi* and a scholar who attracted to himself not only the indigenes of the country, majority of who concentrated in the Region of Sine-Saloum, the capital of which is Kaolack, but also foreigners. Although Shaykh Ibrahim was a Tijani leader in Senegal, he was not the only leader in the country because there is another family, the Si family, which also has a large Tijani followers. Each group is, however, independent of the other.

In early 1930's Shaykh Ibrahim founded a religious movement which he called *jama'at al-faydah al-tijaniyyah* (The congregation of the Tijaniyyah 'spiritual' flood). This *Jama'ah* was founded on the belief that he, the Shaykh, was the reviver of the Tijaniyyah in the fourteenth century of the *hijrah* because a reviver, it is believed, would emerge in every century.⁵ Another movement was founded by the Shaykh which he named *Jam'iyat'ansar al-din* (The Society of the helpers of the religion).

Literally Shaykh Ibrahim was a versatile scholar and a prolific writer. As many as seventy works have been attributed to him on various subjects including *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), Arabic language, *tasawwuf* (Islamic mysticism), and *sirah* (the biography of the Prophet).

He was also a poet of high order and he produced some anthologies.⁶ The Shaykh's motives of writing were multifarious. As a Tijaniyyah leader he wrote to explain the basic tenets of the *tariqah* and to defend them. He also wrote to answer questions which were put to him on these tenets or to defend his own claims or views as is evident in his *Raf' al-malam*.⁷ In addition to this, the Shaykh wrote to guide his followers or to advise them; he also delivered many speeches at different international meetings and conferences. One of the Shaykh's students Ahmad Barnawi, a native of Maiduguri, Nigeria, has compiled many of these speeches and epistles and titled the compilation as *Jawahir al-rasa'il*.

Perhaps, the Shaykh's first work is his *Ruh aV-adab* which was written in 1922 when he was just twenty years old. In 1931 the Shaykh produced his first major work titled as *Kashif al'-ilbas 'an faydat al-khatm'abi al-'Abbas*. He demonstrated in this book a thorough knowledge of *tasawwuf* and especially the Tijaniyyah. For example, he discussed the reality of sufism and *dhikr* (formulae for the remembrance of God) as well as their merits. He also discussed the *Faydat al-Tijaniyyah* (the Tijaniyyah 'spiritual' flood), which, it was said, would overflow to different places through which a multitude of people would embrace the Tijaniyyah Order. Shaykh Ibrahim claimed to be the man who was entrusted with this responsibility.⁸ He also spoke about *tarbiyah* (spiritual training) and the necessity for one to seek a perfect guide (*al-shaykh al-murshid al-kamil*) who would put one through the exercise successfully. There is no doubt that he displayed a high degree of competence in *tasawwuf* and that he succeeded in attracting many people to himself.

In 1936 Shaykh Ibrahim reached another mile-stone in his life. This happened when he decided to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. He made a stoppage in Fez, Morocco, the international headquarters of the Tijaniyyah. When he reached Morocco, he was informed that he had been chosen as the overall leader of the Tijaniyyah. Shaykh Ibrahim in his account of the visit to Fez and his accession to the leadership said:

On Wednesday we called on 'Abd al-Salam al-Sa'id...He had obtained as many secrets of the *tariqah* as possible and permitted me the use of all of them. He asked me for some secrets and I permitted him some of them...He said, 'you are the successor of Shaykh Tijani, and you are the intermediary between people and the Prophet, and the Shaykh.' He said he had been praying God

to let him see the successor of Shaykh Tijani. Then all the people of the *zawiyah* visited me to acknowledge me as successor.⁹

Thus, Shaykh Ibrahim became not just the Shaykh of his *zawiyah* at Medina Kaolack but the universal leader of the Tijaniyyah. It is noteworthy that the ascension of the Shaykh to this lofty post was not based on any election or any decision made by the council of the order. It was a unilateral action of the *muqaddam* of the *zawiyah* in Fez, Shaykh ^cAbd al-Salam al-Sa'id. The fact that the proclamation came from the Shaykh of the Fez *zawiyah* might have contributed to the acceptance of Shaykh Ibrahim's status as the Khalifah of Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani. It would be recalled that Shaykh Ibrahim had previously claimed to have been entrusted with the *faydah* in his book, *Kashif*, five years earlier. The pronouncement, therefore, came to confirm the previous claim and strengthened his position.

According to Shaykh 'Abubakr ^cAtiq who was a great *muqaddam* and a prolific writer in Kano, Nigeria, the leaders of the Tijaniyyah in Fez went to Kaolack and submitted all the insignia of office of the *Khalifah* to Shaykh Ibrahim. These were the walking stick, sandal and the books of secrets of Shaykh 'Ahmad al-Tijani. They did this as a symbol of their oath of allegiance to him as the successor and the *sahib al-faydah*.¹⁰ Al-hajj 'Abubakr ^cAtiq also said that he personally heard Shaykh al-Tayyib, a great-grandson of Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani, in Fez pray for Shaykh Ibrahim and address him as "*our Khalifah*, our grandfather today, he is our father..." 'Abubakr^cAtiq buttressed his claims by swearing in God's name that he was speaking nothing but the truth.¹¹

Shaykh Ibrahim left Fez in 1936 after he had been proclaimed the universal leader of the Tijaniyyah and proceeded on the pilgrimage to Mecca where the news about him had already reached. Among these pilgrims was the *amir* of Kano Abdullah Bayero, who had been desperate to meet the *ghawth al-zaman*¹² '(the current succour) who would help him through in his emotional crisis in which he was. I.A. Tahir in his account of this situation says:

Myth, ideological rationalisation and fact are compounded in the accounts of the subsequent reaction of Bayero to the situation. From 1926 to 1937 he was almost certainly involved in an acute emotional and spiritual crisis which deepened his preoccupation with mysticism...he is said to have prayed incessantly to Allah through numerous *khalwat* (retreats) to link him with the *ghawth al-zaman* who would guide him through the modern age.¹³

The *amir* of Kano was passing through this crisis when Wali Sulayman¹⁴ informed him of the presence of the *ghawth* in Mecca. The *amir* readily met Shaykh Ibrahim and invited him to Kano. The invitation was accepted and he visited Kano shortly after he had returned home from the pilgrimage. This first visit which lasted six days seems to be a private one because there was neither public lecture nor was there any large number of people invited by the *amir* to meet him. It was during his second visit to Kano that he was met by a large number of people who were mostly '*ulama*'. The *amir* of Kano, the Shaykh's host, made a grand preparation for the visit and raised the Shaykh's status among the '*ulama*' in particular.

Some sections of the Tijaniyyah in Kano, especially the Salgawa who had emerged as the Tijani leaders in the city since the time of Sharif 'Alami,¹⁵ were apparently skeptical about the claims of Shaykh Ibrahim. The Salgawa regarded his coming to Kano as an invasion of their areas of influence and felt that one of them could have become the *ghawth*.¹⁸ With this sceptical mind the Salgawa and many other '*ulama*' went to welcome Shaykh Ibrahim, a guest of their *amir*. They listened to a talk which the Shaykh delivered on the Tijaniyyah in particular and sufism in general. It was on this occasion that the Shaykh won nearly all the listeners to himself by convincing them of his profundity in *tasawwuf* and the Tijaniyyah. It is said that all who listened to him on this occasion accepted his leadership.¹⁷ Otherwise there was no logical reason which one could attribute to the submission of these '*ulama*' other than the fact that the people admired him and felt convinced of his claim. This could also be attributed to the vigorous campaign about the Shaykh's status by the *amir*, or as the *sufis* will explain it, it could be a divine issue which cannot be rationally explained.¹⁰

However, the news about Shaykh Ibrahim spread in the northern parts of Nigeria and that ensured his popularity. Another factor that seems to be responsible for his initial acceptance was the recognition accorded him by some highly respected Tijaniyyah leaders in Nigeria. Such leaders included Shaykh Gibrin of Nguru¹⁹ who is said to have accepted the claim of Shaykh Ibrahim after he had made a resort to '*istikharah*'²⁰ on the issue. His submission to Shaykh Ibrahim was considered significant because he was known to have prayed to become the *ghawth* and was expecting to be appointed

when he heard the news about Shaykh Ibrahim. Consequently he travelled to Kaolack to submit to him.²¹

Another factor which contributed to the acceptance of the Shaykh in Kano was his book *Kashif*. The Shaykh brought copies of the book to Kano and distributed them among the Tijaniyyah leaders there. After going through the book people sought to benefit from the Shaykh's esoteric knowledge, about which he had written. In 1946 some *murids* from the Salgawa in Kano decided to go to Kaolack to receive the spiritual training, *tarbiyah*, under the Shaykh. Those who first went there included ʿUmar Falke, Tijani Usman and Muhammad Sani Kafanga. Each of these people later came back to Nigeria as *al-shaykh al-murabbi*, that is, a trained shaykh who could train others spiritually. They started to train people and encouraged others to travel to Kaolack for the same purpose. So we can see the Salgawa retaining their leading post in the Kano Tijaniyyah with this new status. Emphasis started to be laid on the importance of the *tarbiyah* as it was regarded as a distinguishing feature of a sincere *murid* (*al-murid al-sadiq*).²²

The followers of Shaykh Ibrahim continued to increase in number owing to the conscious efforts of the Salgawa who now embarked on constant tours to many towns and villages in the Northern parts of the country, popularising the *tarbiyah*. When the Shaykh visited Kano in 1951 on his way to Mecca, he was warmly received by very important people both within and outside the city. The Shaykh spoke of his 1951 experience in these words:

I was well received at Kano. The successor...designate of the *amir*, called the Ciroma (Sanusi), received seriously ...I could not come out because of the great gathering outside. Many respected people from Borno and Maradi came to meet me in Kano, among them...the *wazir* of Gumel, with whom I bear the same name. Also, those of Kaura...may God give the people of Kano the best reward. They are brothers. They have drunk from the flood of Shaykh Tijani. They are men of *Shariʿah* and *tariqah*.²³

When Shaykh Ibrahim was returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca he had a stopover in Kano and also recorded his experience which reads:

We flew from Jeddah to...Kano. In Kano the amir of Katsina came and many judges, the *waziri* and many people...even Muhammad Nasiru Kabara, head of Qadiriyyah our faithful lover and helper... Then to Kaolack... The amir and the Native Authority police accompanied me to the airport, along

with Muhammad Sanusi... Also present was Muhammad al-Ghali, one of the descendants of 'Umar al-Futi, who is the head of the Tijaniyyah in Hadejia.²⁴

The accounts of Shaykh Ibrahim on his visits to Kano which are quoted above have indicated to us that the Shaykh was accepted by many people including some members of the ruling class in some parts of the Northern Nigeria. Those who received him included non-Tijaniyyah also. The Qadiriyyah people were also present.

The followers of the Shaykh worked hard and continued to spread his influence far and wide. It must be mentioned that it was not only in the northern parts of the country that the Shaykh was known. The southern Muslims, especially those in Lagos, came to know about the Shaykh in the early 1950's when the Shaykh had stopovers in Lagos either on his way to Kano or when he was returning to Kaolack. His students such as 'Umar Falke who was trained under him in Kaolack in 1946, and who had been living and preaching the Tijaniyyah among the Yoruba in particular, joined them. They introduced their new Shaykh and their spiritual knowledge, *tarbiyah*, to their followers in Yorubaland. 'Umar Falke who was also a roving trader had students who stayed in Lagos while he was away. Among these was *muqaddam* Lawal who is now a great Tijaniyyah leader in Lagos. These students of Falke were charged with the responsibility of propagating the *tarbiyah*. Some other people, especially from Kano who had returned to Lagos, joined hands with others in this work. One of them was Shaykh Sani Awwal (d. 1977). He spent ten years learning in Kaolack under Shaykh Ibrahim. He travelled widely in Yorubaland guiding the people through the Tijaniyyah teachings and practices and spreading the fame of the Shaykh.

The *murids* of Shaykh Ibrahim presented their leader to the people as a savant in both exoteric and esoteric knowledge. They also described him as a very pious man who should be imitated. The 'Ulama also accepted him as their leader because they saw that he was honoured and revered in the northern part of the country as well as in some other Muslim countries.²⁵ The Shaykh's followers contributed to this by widely circulating his pictures with some world Muslim leaders such as President Abd al-Gamal Nasser of Egypt. This was simply to convince the people that he deserved to be revered by them.

It is pertinent at this juncture to mention that different forms of Shaykh Ibrahim Niass's pictures were circulated in Nigeria by his disciples who sold them to both the members of the Tijaniyyah and

the non-members alike. The pictures sold fastly, especially during the Shaykh's visits to the country. They were bought by people who did not know the Shaykh but had heard about him. His disciples seized this opportunity to publicize his charismatic personality.

During the Shaykh's visit to Lagos in 1970, I met a student of his selling the Shaykh's pictures and saying to the eager spectators that whoever hung his picture in his house, he would receive a special protection from God and would also prosper in his endeavours. This made thousands of people buy the pictures readily, hoping to derive such benefits.

It is remarkable to note that in some parts of Nigeria, such as in Ilorin and Ibadan, an artistic impression of Shaykh Ibrahim could be seen on many commercial vehicles. This practice, it is said, started in early 1970's. Interestingly, some of the owners of the vehicles were not members of the Tijaniyyah, but they had been led to believe in the mysterious power of the Shaykh to protect them and make them happy and prosperous.

As mentioned above, Shaykh Ibrahim was one of the recognised Muslim leaders. He was the Vice-President of World Muslim Congress (*Mu'tamar al-'alam al-Islami*) with its headquarters in Karachi for a number of years. He was also a member of the world Islamic Congress which has its headquarters in Cairo. He also served, as a member, the Academy of Islamic Research (*Majmah al-buhuth al-Islamiyyah*) at Azhar University, Cairo. In addition to these, the Shaykh was the Vice-President of the Muslim World League which has its headquarters in Mecca.

As an international Muslim Leader. Shaykh Ibrahim has travelled extensively and visited many countries where he preached the message of Islam. For example, he visited Cairo more than ten times and during one of such visits in 1961 he led a Friday service at the Azhar University. With all these, it is obvious that Shaykh Ibrahim was a renowned Muslim. He participated in many international Muslim conferences which he addressed.²⁶ The Shaykh's membership of the above-mentioned organizations was significant because he was internationally recognized as the head of the Order, while the Order gained much due to his activities.

The fact that Shaykh Ibrahim was widely known and recognised as the *sahib al-faydah* and a great *wali* by many people in Nigeria does not mean that all the members of the Tijaniyyah in Nigeria accepted

his leadership and his claims. For instance, the members of the Order in Madabo ward in Kano did not accept Shaykh Ibrahim as they had earlier refused to accept Sharif 'Alami. This Tijaniyyah group held tenaciously to their first and only *muqaddam*, al-hajj 'Umar al-Futi.²⁹ They did not see any justification for them to accept Shaykh Ibrahim and to renew their initiations with him. In Auchi, Bendel State, for example, Mallam Idrees Oboh Oseni, a *muqaddam* and an Islamic learned man, said that they in Auchi could not submit to the spiritual authority of the Shaykh because they did not see any thing new which he had brought into the *tariqah*. They felt contented with what they had received from their *muqaddam*. He also mentioned that they were not enticed by the mysterious powers attributed to him. Instead they detested such practices.

Another view is held in Pakata quarters of Ilorin, Kwara State. The *muqaddam* of the *zawiyah* there, al-hajj Ibrahim b. Abd al-Salam, accepted the *wilayah* of Shaykh Ibrahim but did not accept that his area of authority covered the Yorubaland which had been the traditional area of jurisdiction of his (al-hajj Ibrahim's) father who, he said, was the *quthb* (pole) for the Yorubas. Al-hajj Ibrahim who is the *khalifah* of his father sees Shaykh Ibrahim as a challenge to his territorial authority. It is apt to mention that even though the Shaykh was seen as a threat to their supposed authority in Yorubaland, the Pakata group in reality had not been known throughout the Yorubaland. It has a few branches outside Ilorin like Ondo, Ife, Ogbomoso and Ibadan, but these do not constitute the whole of the Yorubaland. Secondly, the group does not have an effective control over the aforementioned places except Ilorin; nor is the group widely known outside Ilorin.

The claim of Shaykh Ibrahim to be a *ghawth* was another factor responsible for his unacceptability to some people, especially in Kano. These people felt that since the *ghawth* was the highest rank of saints according to the *sufis*, and since there was only one in the world at a given time, they thought that one could only reach that stage after one had become old and had lived an exemplary life of asceticism. They argued that since Shaykh Ibrahim was a middle-aged man, he could not be the *ghawth*.³⁰

We may observe that many of those who rejected the leadership of Shaykh Ibrahim did so for two major reasons. The first one was the issue of *tarbiyah*, and the second was his method of training.

Such people denied that *tarbiyah* was an essential element in the Tijaniyyah. They argued that their *muqaddams* who initiated them into the Tijaniyyah did not acquaint them with it. On the question of his method of training, the Shaykh was accused of rushing his *murids* during their periods of spiritual training.

There is no doubt that the people who rejected the leadership of Shaykh Ibrahim on the basis of these reasons, did so in order to remain faithful to their *muqaddams*. But at the same time it seems as if they did not read the Tijaniyyah works such as the *Jawahir al-maani* which discusses the necessity of *tarbiyah*.³¹ Secondly, those who criticised the method adopted by the Shaykh failed to realize the function of the *sahib al-faydah* who was supposed to train multitude of people spiritually within a short time so that the influence of the Tijaniyyah would be felt in different parts of the world. If the Shaykh had trained people in a difficult way by putting them into seclusion for months with little or no assistance, he would not qualify to be the *sahib al-faydah*, and only a few people would benefit from him.

In conclusion we would like to reiterate that the emergence of Shaykh Ibrahim Niass as a great Tijaniyyah leader in Nigeria was due primarily to Amir ^cAbdullah Bayero of Kano who paved the way for his spiritual ascendancy. The Shaykh on his own part did this that he took full advantage of the opportunity; he proved that he was really thoroughly grounded in the field of sufism. The efforts of the Shaykh's students could not be over-emphasised in ensuring that he was popularly accepted in Nigeria. Even though the leadership of the Shaykh was questioned by some members of Tijaniyyah in the country, those who accepted him were numerically more than those who rejected him. With the advent of the Shaykh in Nigeria the Tijaniyyah became more popular and attracted more followers. Thus, Shaykh Ibrahim filled a conspicuous gap within the Tijaniyyah in the country, i.e. he fulfilled the need of a widely accepted national leader of the Order.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 3 J.N. Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973), p. 95
- 2 Ibrahim b.'Abdullah, *Kashif al-'ilbas 'an faydat al-Khatim 'abi al-'Abbas (misr, Sharkat maktab wa matba'at Mustafa al-babi al-halbi wa 'awladuhu*, 1971), p. 5
- 3 For a description of the *zawiyah* and the city, see Y.A. Adisa, "Life of Shaykh Ibrahim Niass 'Al-Kawlakhiyy al-Tijaniyy and some of his major works",

- Long Essay, Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 1978, pp. 9-10.
- 4 Ibrahim b. 'Abdullah, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
 - 5 J.M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World* (London, Oxford University Press), 1965, p. 146.
 - 6 One of such works is Ibrahim b. 'Abdullah, *al-Dawdwin al-sitt*.
 - 7 Ibrahim b. 'Abdullah, *Raf' al-malam 'an man rafa' wa qabad 'iqtida' bi sayyid al-'anam*, Zaria (Nigeria), Gaskiya Corporation, n.d.
 - 8 Ibrahim b. 'Abdullah, *Kashif*, p. 52.
 - 9 Paden, *op. cit.*, p. 98, and Ibrahim b. 'Abdullah, *Rihlah Hijaziyyah wa rihlah Kanawiyyah*, (Kano, Native Authority Press, 1960).
 - 10 Abubakar 'Atiq, *al-Jawab al-Khalis al-Satnim 'ala wathiqah al-hajj 'Ahmad 'Abd al-Karim* (Kano, Northern Maktabat Printing Press, 1388 A.H.), pp. 3-4.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10
 - 12 *Ghawth* or *Qutb* is the head of the invisible hierarchy of saints. *Ghawth al-zaman* is any current head, see Louis Massignon, "Tasawwuf" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1934 Edition, Vol. 4, p. 684.
 - 13 I.A. Tahir, "Scholars, sufis, saints and capitalists in Kano 1904-1974: The pattern of Bourgeois Revolution in an Islamic Society", unpublished doctorate thesis, Cambridge, 1975, p. 361.
 - 14 Wall Sulayman was a Tijani *muqaddam* (a group leader). He taught in Shau'ci Judicial School, Kano from 1918 to 1932, and afterwards was appointed *ma'aji* (treasurer) for the Kano Native Authority. He was an expert in *tafsir* (Qur'an exegesis). He died in 1939. See Paden, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
 - 15 Sharif Muhammad 'Alami was a Maghribi who came to Nigeria in 1923 for the purpose of propagating the Tijaniyyah.
 - 16 See Muhammad al-Tahir Maigari, "*Al-Shaykh 'Ibrahim Niass: Hayatuh wa 'ara'uh*" M.A. dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria 1979, p. 425.
 - 17 Oral evidence. An interview with Shaykh Thani Kafanga who is a high ranking Tijani leader in Kano. 15th February, 1980.
 - 18 See 'Ali Harazim, *Jawahir al-ma'ani* (Beirut, Dar al-Fikr, 1963), Vol. 1, p. 163.
 - 19 Shaykh Muhammad Gibrim b. Muhammad al-Daghiri (1902-1975) was a famous Tijaniyyah leader in the Northern Nigeria.
 - 20 *'Istikhrah* is a form of prayer which is said to seek guidance from God over an issue. See Muhammad al-Hafiz al-Tijani, *'Ahzab wa awrad, misr, matba'at al-Fajalat al-jadidah*, 1972, pp. 153-155
 - 21 This was mentioned to me by knowledgeable persons among whom were Al-hajj *muqaddam* Yahya Adabata, a *muqaddam* in Ilorin, Kwara State and Al-hajj *muqaddam* Olorungebebe also a *muqaddam* in Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria. Al-hajj Olorungebebe studied under Shaykh Gibrim at Nguru, while Al-hajj Yahya used to visit him occasionally. They were interviewed in March 1980.
 - 22 See 'Ali Harazim, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 154.
 - 23 Paden, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
 - 24 Paden, *op. cit.*, Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 67 W.O.A. Nasiru reported that Shaykh Ibrahim received a grand welcome in Ibadan, Oyo State. See Nasiru, "Traces of Tijaniyyah Movement in Ibadan", seminar paper, Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, April, 1976, p. 8.

- 25 This was mentioned to me during an interview with Al-hajj Murtala Abdul Salami who is a well-known Muslim leader and the proprietor of the *Ma^chad al-^cArabi*, Arabic Institute of Nigeria, Elekuro, Ibadan, May 6th, 1980.
- 26 See *Muslim News International*, Karachi, 3, Pakistan, November 1963, p. 23.
- 27 Cf. Qur'an, Chapter 3 verse 13, which says: Beautified for men is the love of desired things—women and children, and stored-up heaps of gold and silver, and pastured horses and cattle and crops. That is the provision of the present life; but it is God with whom is an excellent home.
- 28 Oral evidence. An interview with Al-hajj Olorungebe of Ola on 14th March, 1980. His statement was also confirmed by Al-hajj *muqaddam* Yusuf 'Abubakar of Abayawo, Ilorin, Kwara State on 20th June, 1980.
- 29 Al-hajj ^cUmar al- Futi was a Tijaniyyah *muqaddam* who spread the Order in some parts of the Northern Nigeria in the 1830's. For details about 'Umar's life see B.G. Martin's *Muslim Brotherhoods In Nineteenth Century Africa*. (Cambridge University Press, 1976).
- 30 Oral evidence. An interview with the Khalifah Babban Malami, Madabo mosque, Kano, February 21, 1980
- 31 For example see Muhammad al-^cArabi's *Bughyat al-Mustafid* Misr Mustafa al-babi, 1959, p. 231, where it is stated that the *tarbiyah* is not prohibited in the Tijaniyyah as imagined by some people. The author explained that Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani ordered Shaykh ^cAli Harazim (who later became his *Khalifah*) to give spiritual training (*tarbiyah*) to his followers in Egypt. See ^cAli Harazim, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 153-155 for the Shaykh's directives on *tarbiyah*.